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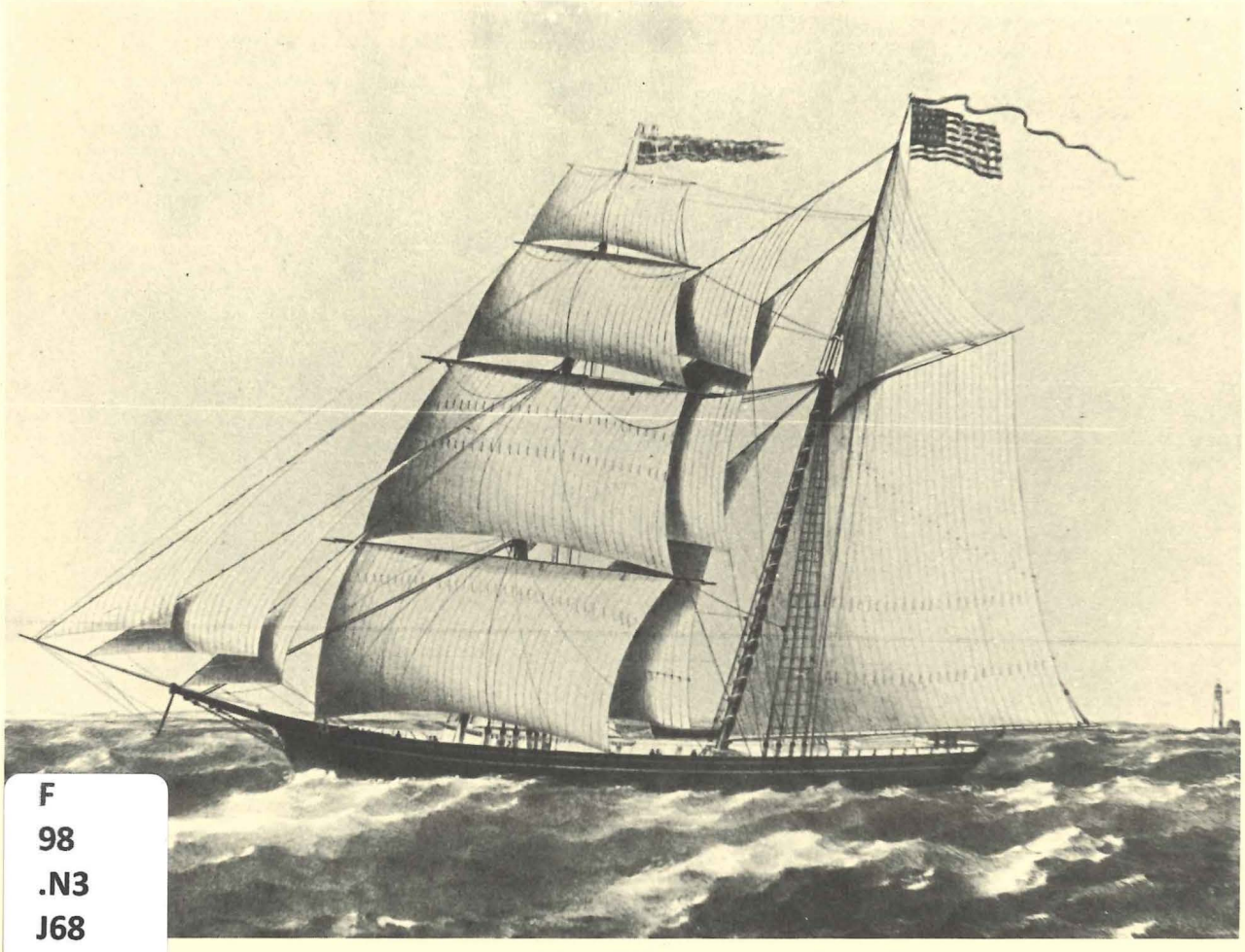
of The New Haven Colony Historical Society



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VOYAGES FROM NEW HAVEN
The Phantom Ship
The Hawaiian Connection
The Voyage of the *Zephyr*

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COVER: *Missionary Packet "Morning Star" Passing Boston Light,* The New Haven Colony Historical Society. An account of some other missionary voyages begins on page 15.

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THE NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY was founded in 1862 by a representative group of New Haven citizens. As stated in the Constitution adopted by the Society, revised in 1965:

"The object of the Society shall be the collection, preservation and publication of historical and genealogical matter relating to the early settlement and subsequent history, especially of New Haven and its vicinity, and incidentally of other portions of the United States."

The museum and library of the Society are open free of charge to the public. In addition to the Whitney Avenue building the Society owns the Pardee-Morris House at 325 Lighthouse Road, Morris Cove, New Haven. Built originally in 1685, it was burned during the British invasion in 1779. Rebuilt at once, it incorporates surviving portions of the older structure. The Pardee-Morris House is now restored and furnished appropriately and is open free of charge to the public during the summer months.

THE PHANTOM SHIP

In Mather's Magnalia Christi,
Of the old colonial time,
May be found in prose the legend
That is here set down in rhyme.

A ship sailed from New Haven,
And the keen and frosty airs,
That filled her sails at parting,
Were heavy with good men's
prayers.

"O Lord! if it be thy pleasure"—
Thus prayed the old divine—
"To bury our friends in the ocean,
Take them for they are thine!"

But Master Lamberton muttered,
And under his breath said he,
"This ship is so cranky and walty,
I fear our grave she will be!"

And the ships that came from
England
When the winter months were gone,
Brought no tidings of this vessel,
Nor of Master Lamberton.

This put the people to praying
That the Lord would let them hear,
What in his greater wisdom
He had done with friends so dear.

And at last their prayers were
answered;
It was in the month of June,
An hour before the sunset,
Of a windy afternoon.

When steadily steering landward,
A ship was seen below,
And they knew it was Lamberton,
Master,
Who sailed so long ago.

On she came with a cloud of canvas,
Right against the wind that blew,
Until the eye could distinguish
The faces of the crew.

Then fell her straining topmasts,
Hanging tangled in the shrouds,
And her sails were loosened and
lifted,
And blown away like clouds.

And the masts, with all their rigging,
Fell slowly, one by one,
And the hulk dilated and vanished,
As a sea-mist in the sun!

And the people who saw this marvel,
Each said unto his friend,
That this was the mould of their
vessel,
And this her tragic end.

And the pastor of the village,
Gave thanks to God in prayer,
That to quiet their troubled spirits,
He had sent them this Ship of Air.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, 1850

The Phantom Ship: Great Dream For New Haven's Future

by Joan A. Dzikas

History is full of incidents to capture the imagination, more so if the incidents are mysterious, or without explanation. Local histories, in particular, are often flavored with stories of unusual occurrences. Communities cherish them, too, for not only are they familiar with the people and places involved, but these incidents also make their histories unique.

People of New Haven Colony, on a June evening in 1648, saw a strange apparition in the clouded sky over their harbor. For half an hour, they viewed a ghostly ship moving steadily at full sail on a northerly course. As they stood on shore watching, they must have been awed and a little frightened by the phantom ship, for this specter, sufficiently mysterious in itself, also bore the markings and crew of a New Haven vessel that had been lost without a trace on its way to England some eighteen months earlier. Suddenly, in a gust of wind, the masting collapsed, overturning the eerie vessel, and it quickly disappeared into the clouds from which it had come.

There exist accounts of the ship's appearance, but one can only guess of their truth. Still, New Haven has preserved the story, for its mystery captures the imagination, and the ship itself tells a great deal about the early history and dreams of New Haven's Puritan founders.

One of these Puritan divines was John Davenport. Originally a vicar of St. Stephen's in London, he found that preaching the works of God as he saw fit was becoming increasingly difficult during the reign of Charles I and his Archbishop, William Laud, who had other ideas. Davenport saw no alternative but to remove himself and his flock to greener fields.

First, it was to Holland, but as he soon found that this was not far enough for the freedom he desired, he came to Boston in 1636. With him came many of his devoted parishioners and friends, including Theophilus Eaton, a wealthy London merchant, who saw greater financial opportunities in the New World.

Apparently, Boston also was too competitive, and by early 1637, both men were discussing another move. Word had been circulating of a fine area with a good harbor on Long Island Sound. The Indians called this land Quinnipiack

(Quillipeage), meaning "long water land." (This name would remain until 1640, when New Haven was adopted.) The Quinnipiack Indians were even friendly, it was said. It was the savage Pequots, to the east, who were to be feared. But just in time for the colonists, the fierce Pequots were finally defeated through combined efforts of Connecticut Colony, Massachusetts Bay, the Dutch, and the Narragansett Indians.

The removal of the Pequot obstacle was, perhaps, the impetus for Eaton to organize a small band of men to scout this new area about which he had heard so much. Another consideration could have been Eaton and Davenport's fear that with the Dutch already established in the east at the mouth of the Connecticut River and to the west at New Amsterdam (New York), the opportunity for settling the area in between might soon be lost altogether.

Once at Quinnipiack, Eaton deemed the area suitable for settlement. It had a good harbor—much larger then, fairly navigable rivers, fertile meadows for grazing and thatch, abundant woods with much white pine (vital for ships' masts), and, of course, friendly Indians.

Returning to Boston, Eaton left seven men to stay the coming winter and to make preparations for the arrival of the larger body in the spring. Unfortunately, one of these men died during the winter, probably of exposure.

Imagine the thoughts of those 800 or so[1] planters, women, children, artisans, indentured servants, apprentices, and slaves who journeyed two weeks around Cape Cod on April 9, 1638. Each must have shared apprehension, yet hopes for a new beginning and a promising future.

Though most were destined eventually to have some part in the story of the "Phantom Ship," some were to have an even more prominent role, such as George Lamberton, captain of the ill-fated ship; Nathaniel Turner, a merchant and the captain of the Colony's militia, who was lost with the ship; Francis Brewster, a merchant, also lost; Thomas Gregson, a deputy of the Colony and a merchant, also lost; Samuel Goodyear, a wealthy merchant, who suffered the loss of his wife; and Mrs. William Wilkes, a passenger, who was voyaging to her husband in England. Many others lost their lives, too.

But for now, New Haveners all had their dreams of becoming part of a prosperous commercial city, including Davenport, who would lead them with his church.

As indicated by the Colony's 1643 estate records, the earliest available, New Haven had men of wealth. Eaton was the richest with £3,000 (about $15,000); nine planters were listed at £1,000, including Davenport, Lamberton, and Goodyear; and eighteen others had £500 or more,[2] considerable sums for those times.

The day following their arrival, the sabbath, was spent giving thanks for their safe deliverance. The sermon, given by the Reverend Davenport as he stood under a huge oak tree near their landing (near the corner of George and College

Streets), was from Matthew (3:1): "In these days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judea."[3]

Having no charter through which rightfully to claim the area for settlement, agreement was made soon after their arrival with Momauguin, sachem of the Quinnipiacks, to purchase the land outright. For the mere price of several items of clothing and tools, an area was purchased encompassing what are today the towns of New Haven, East Haven, Branford, North Branford, North Haven, Wallingford, Cheshire, Hamden, Bethany, Orange, and Woodbridge.

Within a few years, its boundaries would become even greater: Guilford (Menuncatuck-1639); Southold, Long Island (Yennicock-1640); Milford (Wepowaug-1640); and Stamford (Rippowams-1640). More territory was added, so that by 1643, the Colony of New Haven stretched in the east from the Hammonassett River to the western boundary of Milford, jumped over the Connecticut Colony towns of Stratford, Fairfield, and Norwalk, to regain her boundaries at Stamford, and extended westward on to Greenwich. Inland, New Haven reached ten miles at Guilford, twenty at New Haven, and sixteen at Stamford. Southampton, Long Island would also be added.[4]

Increasing one's borders is costly. Expenditures have to be made not only for the initial purchases, but for the maintenance of the territories as well—clearing the land, constructing buildings and fences (£500 was spent on the Colony's meeting house on the Green),[5] and keeping a militia to watch for dangers such as hostile Indians or fires. The income of a colony must meet its expenses.

With confidence, the experienced merchants of Quinnipiack got their commerce underway. Its exports, by 1640, included furs, clapboards and shingles, lumber, wheat, and "pease"[6] shipped directly to Connecticut Colony, Massachusetts Bay, the Barbadoes, Bermuda, Virginia, and Delaware Bay. Shipping to the mother country was done via Boston or the Barbadoes, as New Haven's vessels were not yet large enough for a transatlantic voyage.

To point out Quinnipiack's emphasis on commerce, one only has to look at some of its early laws which gave protection to its exports and interests. Records show that persons were fined for cutting trees without permission on any commons within two miles of the settlement;[7] and white pine ("spruce masts") could be cut nowhere in the Colony without permission.[8] Shipwrights were excused from military watch duty.[9] In addition, when the merchants Lamberton, Richard Malbon, and John Evance expressed the fact that the harbor channel was too shallow at low tide, the Colony's treasury quickly made funds available for the needed improvements. A wharf and a warehouse were built, too.[10] To encourage more trade in the area, it also was decreed in 1644 that, henceforth, a large semiannual fair would be held in the marketplace.[11]

Even New Haven's domestic architecture reflected a quality befitting a wealthy merchant community. Mr. Eaton's house was so grand it was reported

to have had at least nineteen fireplaces. Also, clapboarding and shingles were fairly common extravagances among the merchants. When one considers the time it must have taken to do such tedious work by hand, the wealth of the young colony becomes evident.

New Haven historian William Hubbard, writing in 1848, noted that the founders " . . . laid out too much of their stocks and estates in building of fair and stately houses, wherein they at the first outdid the rest of the country, . . . " adding, " . . . who ever built a tower and wine press before he planted his vineyard? . . . "[12]

Expense was insignificant to a community so hopeful of quick financial returns. But such optimism would be short-lived. The strain began outside its borders. Captain Lamberton, while trading with Virginia in 1639, saw a lucrative fur trade being carried on by the Dutch and Swedes with the Indians of the Delaware Bay region. As Quinnipiack's local furring attempts were not proving as profitable as had been hoped, Lamberton's suggestion to form a Delaware trading company was favorably received.

Thus, Captain Nathaniel Turner returned the following year to purchase land from the Delaware and Susquehanna Indians on behalf of the colony. This area included most of southwest New Jersey and part of Philadelphia.

The purchase proved interesting, as both the Dutch and the Swedes claimed the territory. The Dutch title came from the explorations of Henry Hudson. Their colony, Ft. Nassau (Trenton), was on the east side of the Delaware River. The Swedes had claimed this territory as of 1638, when The New Sweden Company, led by Peter Minuit, established a colony at Ft. Christina (Wilmington, Delaware).

Nevertheless, by 1641, Lamberton led about twenty, though some historians say about fifty,[13] New Haven families to an area near the Swedes at Varkens Kill (near Salem, New Jersey). The following year, another settlement was added by Lamberton, near the Dutch, at the junction of the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers.

The Dutch and the Swedes could not tolerate this intrusion for long. Competition in the fur trade and the nearby presence of Englishmen could not be ignored.

After the New Haveners were ordered unsuccessfully to leave by the Dutch governor, William Kieft, two armed vessels came to the settlement at the junction, where New Haven's goods were seized, its trading houses burned, and its settlers allowed to return home only with their lives. Lamberton removed himself to Varkens Kill.

The new Swedish governor, Johan Printz, not to be outdone, attempted to place the Varkens Kill people under his control. He fabricated charges against Captain Lamberton of plotting with the Indians to attack the Swedes. Lamberton was imprisoned. Fortunately, he was soon released for a lack of

evidence, but not before he had to pay heavy duties on his fur trading in the area. Soon thereafter, Kieft followed suit and imposed similarly high duties on the beaver skins which Lamberton continued to take from the Dutch area. Still more New Haveners returned home.

In short, this utter failure cost New Haven over £1,000,[14] adding to an already financially strained colony.

Hard cash had become scarce early in New Haven. As was evidenced in its records, wampum, pieces of eight, and bartered goods—corn in particular—were often used as the means of exchange.[15]

In general, trade did not become as good as had been hoped. The already established ports at Boston and New London proved too competitive, and Long Island was an obstacle for large vessels that sought a more direct route. The fur business proved disappointingly unprofitable, and the land was sandy, so crops did not fare well.

With ever-increasing property taxes added to this burden, some New Haveners, wanting to preserve what they had left, returned to England. These would include David Yale, whose son, Elihu, would found the college; Francis Newman, who became New Haven Colony's governor after the death of Governor Eaton; and Richard Malbon, merchant and captain of the colonial militia.[16]

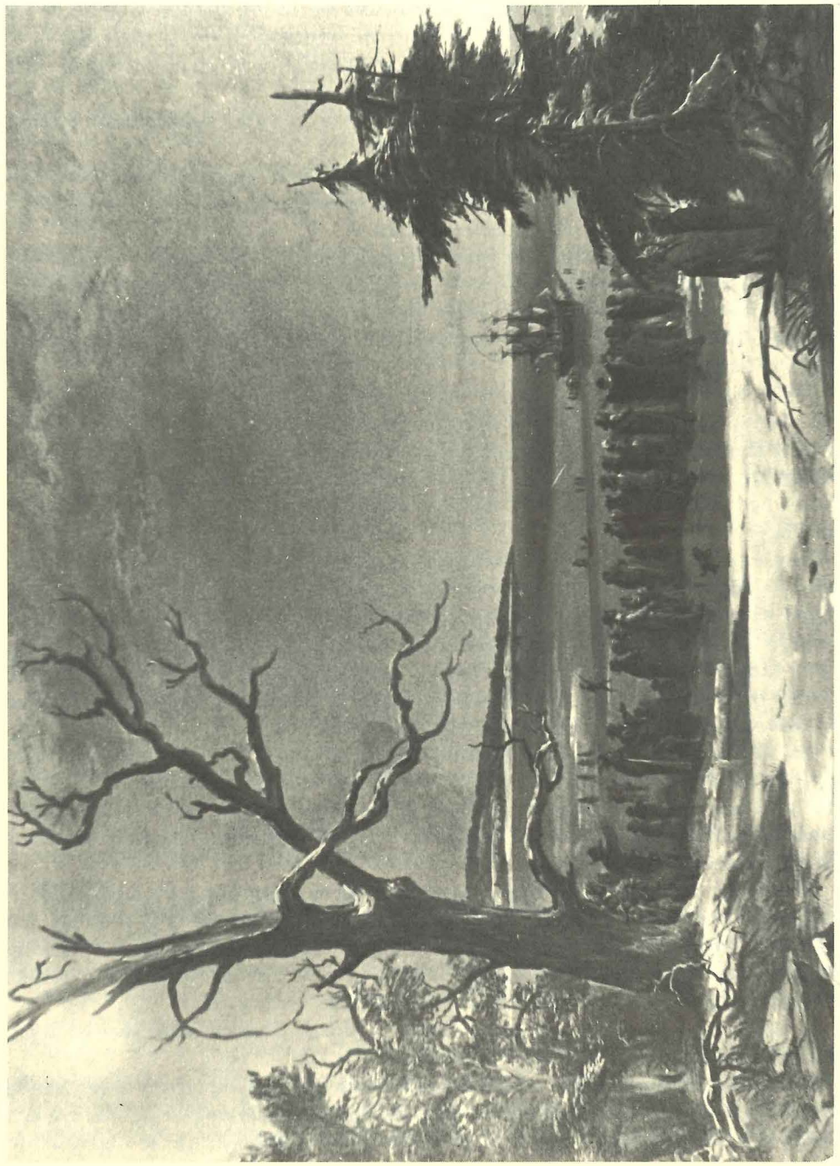
Estates of the founders dwindled rapidly. Eaton's estate, which was £3,000 in 1643,[17] was appraised at his death in 1658 at £1,440.[18] As for other estates, one notes those of Stephen Goodyear, from £1,000 (1643)[19] to £804 (1658);[20] Francis Brewster, from £1,000 (1643)[21] to £288 (1647);[22] Captain Turner, from £800 (1643)[23] to £457 (1647);[24] Thomas Gregson, from £600 (1643)[25] to £490 (1647).[26] Interestingly, Lamberton seemed to be about the only one who had increased his estate—from £1,000 (1643)[27] to £1,202 (1647).[28]

Still, New Haven would not give up. Too much had been invested, and God surely would not abandon his children. Wrote historian Hubbard, " . . . they did, as it were, gather together all their remaining strength, to the building and loading out of one ship for England,"[29] thus bypassing Boston and the Barbadoes.

Strangely, the name of such an important ship is unknown, as it is not cited in any of New Haven's available records. Allusion has been made to a name, *The Fellowship*,[30] but records refer only to "The Great Shippe."[31] The name "Phantom Ship" came from the 1850 Longfellow poem of the same name,[32] which permanently made the event a part of romantic literature.

It was Cotton Mather, pastor of Boston's North Church, who was to bring the original fame to the story, however.

Interested in the strange, ethereal appearance of 1648, he wrote to his friend James Pierpont, who had succeeded the late Reverend Davenport at the church at New Haven. Pierpont's account is one of the most vivid, for he claimed the



story to be from reliable persons who saw the Phantom Ship![33] This account appeared in *Magnalia Christi Americana (Christ's Great Achievements in America),* Mather's history of the colonies, published in 1702.

The Great Shippe, a 150-ton vessel, was built in Rhode Island. For her maiden voyage, she was hired by the newly formed Company of Merchants of New Haven, namely Eaton, Goodyear, Malbon, and Gregson.[34] Of course, many others who could afford to contribute did so, for this was a venture by all of New Haven's people.

When brought into New Haven Harbor for the lading of its precious cargo, it must have been a stirring sight, as this vessel was the future of the Colony. Here sailed its largest ship, and a successful voyage could mean that wealth would be brought back into New Haven.

It is surprising that for a mission of such importance so little care went into preparing the ship for departure. With all the previous failures of the Colony, logic would have dictated caution in the colonists' present actions. And, being of a religion prone to "signs," or divine forebodings, their ignoring of "signs" about The Great Shippe is equally surprising. Captain Lamberton noted that the ship listed to one side, or was, as he termed it, "walty."[35]

The voyage itself would be risky, for traveling the high seas in winter is treacherous, more so in a vessel that is untried, piloted by a captain unfamiliar with the route. True, Lamberton was an experienced sea captain, but he had never before made the voyage from the Colonies to England. Ships' logs and stories by those who made the trip were no substitute for the actual experience.

In their haste, little attention must have been paid to the arrangement of cargo, for the ship was laded improperly. Wheat was placed on the bottom, where it easily shifted with the ship's movements, making for an unstable cargo base.[36]

But New Haven's desperation must have been great, for these signs were ignored.

In the hull were " . . . some pease and some wheat, all in bulk, with about two hundred W. India hides, and store of beaver and plate. . . . "[37] Its estimated value was £5,000.[38] The combined wealth of the Colony was £36,126,[39] so to invest such a large percentage of its fortunes in one ship showed tremendous optimism—or foolhardiness.

The value of the ship's human cargo cannot be given a figure. Some seventy persons made the fateful voyage, among them Lamberton, Mrs. Goodyear (whose husband would later marry Mrs. Lamberton), Turner, and Gregson, who was also given £200[40] to speak with the new Cromwellian Parliament about getting a needed charter for the Colony.

At left, Departure of the Great Ship *by Jesse Talbot, in The New Haven Colony Historical Society.*

Also on board were sermons by Connecticut's founder, The Reverend Thomas Hooker, and by The Reverend Davenport, to be published in London, and Davenport's diary, kept since the founding of Quinnipiack. Hooker and Davenport later were able to reproduce most of their sermons. But Davenport's diary, containing his first thoughts and observations about the early colony, was lost forever.

For the ship to set sail in January, 1647, a three-mile passage had to be sawed through the frozen harbor—quite a feat, even for today. On the wharf, Davenport led the prayers for the safe return of the ship, and he prophetically spoke, "O Lord! if it be thy pleasure to bury our friends in the ocean, take them, for they are thine!"[41]

The voyage should have brought them back in the fall, but as the months passed, English vessels carried no word of The Great Shippe.

Worried New Haveners probably began to have thoughts that the ship had been blown off course, or that it had been shipwrecked on some deserted island, with its passengers impatiently awaiting rescue. Perhaps, it was captured by pirates! Surely, their friends would return, they prayed.

Another winter passed without word. By now, the worst was being suspected, as they remembered the "signs" of the ship.

And then, about an hour before sunset on June 28, 1648, just after a thunderstorm had passed, a ship appeared in the clouds over the harbor, so say the witnesses of the Pierpont account. Its markings were that of The Great Shippe, the wind guiding its sails in a northerly direction.

As it came closer, so close one said he could have thrown a stone on board,[42] the crew was seen, with the figure of Captain Lamberton pointing his sword to the sky. For half an hour, this phenomenon lasted.

Suddenly, in a gust of wind, her main mast was broken off and "left hanging in the shrouds;"[43] then the mizzen broke; then all the masting collapsed, capsizing her; and The Great Shippe sank into a puff of smoke. The sky cleared.

Those below were awed by the vision they had just seen. To the Puritan observers, this strange apparition must have been taken as a sign from God, telling them the fate of their beloved friends, but also confirming what many must have known. New Haven Colony was a failure as a seaport. This loss would hurt the colonial treasury severely, hindering New Haven from making any such large ventures in the near, or distant, future.

Trading would eventually become profitable to the Long Island community, but not for another hundred years. The colony would be assisted later by improved inland roads and by the disappearance of Puritan wage-price controls, thereby finally stimulating business expansion.[44] But for now, New Haven's

At left, Vision of the Great Ship, *by Jesse Talbot, in The New Haven Colony Historical Society.*

economic future looked gloomy. Commerce had been at the center of its efforts, not farming; yet this would have to become their new economic base.

As for the validity of the apparition, who can say? Interestingly, no mention of the vision appears in the official Colonial records. Only second-hand accounts exist, like those of Pierpont, to tell the story. The reason for this omission receives only speculation. Was the sighting not important enough to receive mentioning? Hardly, for The Great Shippe carried New Haven's future. Were the witnesses afraid to mention the incident for fear of being ridiculed by disbelievers? Perhaps. Or, did the apparition not really happen?

Writing many years later, in 1893, Charles Hervey Townshend, a noted New Haven historian and citizen, said that as a boy in New Haven, he often saw mirages of ships in the sky over the harbor. "A ship may have been on the south side of Long Island and its reflected image taken for Lamberton's ship."[45] Townshend's account is probably the logical explanation for the vision. It might have been that New Haveners thought they saw the crew and the eventual destruction of The Great Shippe in a cloud formation.

Such logic, however, does not add that special flavor needed to make a local history unique. It takes the imagination of a Pierpont or a Longfellow to provide the necessary ingredients for a legend.

1. Edward E. Atwater, *History of the Colony of New Haven to Its Absorption into Connecticut* (New Haven, 1881), p. 154.

2. Charles J. Hoadly, ed., *Records of the Colony of New Haven, 1638-1649* (Hartford: Case, Tiffany and Company, 1851), pp. 91-93.

3. Edward R. Lambert, *History of the Colony of New Haven Before and After the Union with Connecticut* (New Haven: Hitchcock & Stafford, 1838), p. 43.

In the west window of the Center Church on the Green, there is a large Tiffany stained glass, designed by Joseph Lauber (1890) commemorating this very moving scene.

4. Isabel MacBeath Calder, *The New Haven Colony* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934), pp. 65-66.

5. *Records, 1638-1649*, p. 25.

6. James K. Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop's Journal*, "History of New England, 1630-1649," II (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1908), p. 286.

7. *Records, 1638-1649*, p. 83.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 457.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 143.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

12. William Hubbard, *A General History of New England* (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1848), p. 334.

13. Charles H. Levermore, *The Republic of New Haven* (Baltimore: N. Murray, Publication Agent, Johns Hopkins University, 1886), p. 92; Rollin G. Osterweis, *Three Centuries of New Haven 1638-1938* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), p. 28.

14. Lambert, p. 56.

15. *Records, 1638-1649*, pp. 44, 52, 60, 86, 120.

16. Atwater, p. 50.

17. *Records, 1638-1649*, p. 91.

18. Charles J. Hoadly, ed., *Records of the Colony and Plantation of New Haven From 1650 to 1660* (Hartford: Case, Tiffany and Company, 1851), p. 258.

19. *Records, 1638-1649*, p. 91.

20. *Records, 1650-1660*, p. 285.

21. *Records, 1638-1649*, p. 93.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 361-362.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 336.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 341.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 361.

29. Hubbard, p. 321.

30. *Records, 1638-1649*, p. 449; Franklin B. Dexter, ed., *Ancient Town Records, Vol. I, New Haven Town Records 1649-1662* (New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Co., 1917), p. 58.

31. *Records, 1638-1649*, pp. 329-333.

32. Nathan H. Dole, ed., *The Poems of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1893), p. 148.

33. Lambert, p. 57.

34. *Records, 1638-1649*, p. 329.

35. Lambert, p. 57.

36. Hubbard, pp. 322, 527.

37. Hosmer, *Winthrop's Journal*, II, p. 286.

38. Lambert, p. 55.

39. *Records, 1638-1649*, p. 93.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 149, 211.

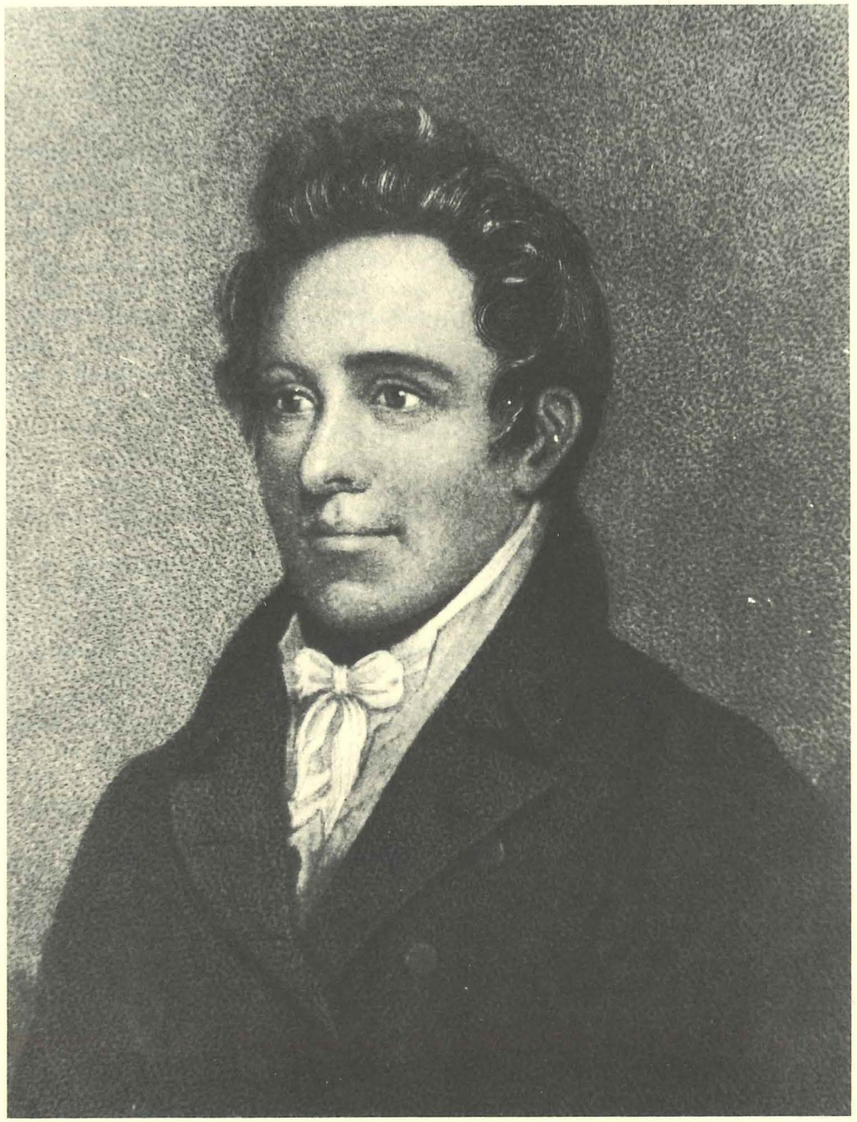
41. Lambert, p. 57.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

44. Harold Hornstein, ed., *New Haven Celebrates the Bicentennial* (New Haven: The Bicentennial Commission, 1976), p. 70.

45. Charles Hervey Townshend, "The Quinnipiack Indians," a paper read to the New Haven Colony Historical Society, March 27, 1893, *Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society*, vol. VI (New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Printers), p. 163.



Henry Obookiah (or Opukahaia), who came to New Haven with Captain Caleb Brintnall in 1809.

The Hawaiian Connection

by Nancy Cassella and Nancy Martin

As one looks at the clocks in an international airport, one can see that the time difference between New York and Honolulu is six hours—a quarter of a world away. But reaching the islands one finds that the mission houses that stand preserved since 1821 in the middle of Honolulu are white clapboard and typically New England in their design. The list of missionaries who went to the Sandwich Islands reads like a street map of New Haven—Baldwin, Bishop, Blatchley, Bond, Chamberlain and on through the alphabet to Whitney and Whittlesley. There is obviously some connecting link between Honolulu and New Haven in spite of the geographical difference. That link is the sea. For many years we have been seafaring neighbors.

In 1778 when Captain James Cook discovered the Sandwich Islands, the Hawaiians had lived for centuries in complete isolation broken only by the arrival of occasional victims of shipwreck. Their stone-age society was ruled by several different kings who regularly made war against each other, but they shared a common language and a common system of rule and religion. They did not use metal, had no writing system, and had not discovered the wheel, but their canoes were fine and fast, and they recognized the importance of astronomy in navigation.

After spending the summer on the northwest coast of America in search of a passage to the Atlantic, Cook returned to Hawaii, and it was during this visit that the brilliant young warrior Kamehameha came aboard his vessel. Although he came only in the capacity of one of the king's advisors and favorites, he was a noteworthy visitor, seven feet tall and three hundred pounds, with an expression described as both haughty and ferocious. Journalists who traveled with Captain Cook took note of this young man and Kamehameha, in his turn, took measure of the strangers and their ways.

Within a short time after this meeting Captain Cook was murdered, and after his expedition sailed away there were no visitors to the Sandwich Islands for seven years.

John Ledyard, a member of the crew with Captain Cook, was a Yankee from Groton, Connecticut. When the Cook expedition reached England, Ledyard

found that he would be required to fight against his countrymen, so he left the service of the Admiralty and made his way back to America. There he published his journal, which appeared two years before the official Admiralty account of Cook's third voyage.

At least one of Ledyard's observations caught the eye of the Yankee traders, for he had noted that the sea otter skins from the northwest coast of America were desirable trade items in Canton.

China trade needed just such a commodity. Products from China could be sold at a good profit in America, but the problem had been what to take to Canton in trade. Ginseng root, which grows easily in America, was a good thing up to a point, but a whole shipload of ginseng was not a practical cargo. Hard currency was still in short supply in the newly formed United States, so news of a good, negotiable trade item was most welcome.

Ships from New England ports began rounding the Horn to reach the northwest fur-trading areas. From there, the long trip to Canton was relieved by stops at the ports of the Sandwich Islands for water and fresh supplies.

Meanwhile, Kamehameha, from his inherited kingdom on the southernmost island, was beginning his conquest of the whole Hawaiian chain. When trade ships began to arrive seeking supplies of food and water, he gladly gave them what they wanted in exchange for firearms. Other warring chiefs killed traders and stole their muskets, but Kamehameha maintained friendly relations and armed himself for warfare through peaceful trade. He became a friend of Captain Vancouver, the British explorer who continued Captain Cook's exploration of the west coast of North America. Vancouver refused to give him firearms and advised him to seek peace. Kamehameha made a treaty of friendship with Great Britain through Vancouver but continued his war on other chiefs. By 1795 Kamehameha had conquered all the Hawaiian Islands but Kauai.

Realizing how much the white men could teach his people, Kamehameha encouraged Hawaiians to take employment as crew on the tradeships, and "Kanakas" were known throughout the world as noble seamen.

In 1799 a New Haven ship, the *Neptune*, master Daniel Greene, supercargo Ebenezer Townsend, Jr., sailed into Kawaihae Bay. The *Neptune* made the greatest of all the China trade voyages out of the Port of New Haven, and her name is still remembered by the people of that city. To the Hawaiian historians, the value of this voyage is not measured in silk, spices, and porcelain but in the journal kept by young Ebenezer Townsend. When the *Neptune* was visited by King Kamehameha and Queen Kaahumanu, Townsend described their visit and the customs of the people. The journals of such travelers are the only written records of Hawaii's early history, for the people themselves had no writing system but preserved their history as an oral tradition in chants and in genealogies similar to the "begats" of the Old Testament.

In 1807 the ship *Triumph*, master Caleb Brintnall, sailed from New Haven to trade at Canton. When the *Triumph* returned two years later, the cargo was sold in New York, and two young kanakas, Thomas Hopu and Henry Opukahaia, went with Captain Brintnall to New Haven.

Edwin Dwight, a younger brother of the President of Yale College, Timothy Dwight the elder, befriended Henry Opukahaia and taught him English, reading and writing. He was an eager, bright student and learned quickly.

Thomas Hopu went back to sea, a crew member in voyages between New Haven and the Caribbean, but Opukahaia stayed to study and supported himself by working on the land. He became an ardent Christian and decided to fit himself to take Christianity to his people, but in 1818 he contracted typhus and died, his wish unfulfilled. This might have been the end of a sad story, but his life and wish were not forgotten. Edwin Dwight wrote his story in the book *Memoirs of Henry Obookiah, a native of Owhyhee.* New England was in a fever of missionary excitement, and the book was an extraordinary success, outselling even the *Farmer's Almanac.*

A missionary company for the Sandwich Islands was assembled under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and the group sailed from Boston on the brig *Thaddeus* in 1819. With them were Henry Opukahaia's friend Thomas Hopu and three other Hawaiian youths.

The physician to this first company was a New Haven man, Dr. Thomas Holman, and the company also included two Yale graduates: Samuel Whitney of Branford, who left Yale during his sophomore year in order to join the mission; and The Reverend Asa Thurston, who had been a star athlete as a Yale undergraduate.

The second company had an even stronger New Haven flavor, for it sailed from the port itself. The whale fishery company of New Haven offered passage to the missionaries on the whaleship *Thames,* master Reuben Clasby.

Hiram Bingham wrote, "The missionary company assembled at New Haven, Connecticut with many members and coadjutors of the American Board and thence embarked in the autumn of 1822 amid varied demonstrations of the sympathy of the friends of Opukahaia and of the heathen. . . . The kind people of New Haven endeavored to cheer the laborers in various ways and contributed to their outfit $1334.00." (N.H.C.H.S. Papers, vol. 3, also gives an account of this departure.)

On this voyage, too, the physician to the company was a product of New Haven. Abraham Blatchley graduated from Yale College in 1816, and after some courses of lectures at the New Haven Medical School he returned to his home town of East Guilford (now Madison) to practice medicine. In Guilford he married Jemima Marvin of Lyme (two sources give different dates for this event in a church in Guilford: December 14, 1821, and November 13, 1822).

The other Yale graduate in the company was Joseph Goodrich of Wethersfield. After seeing the volcanic activity at Kilauea in 1823, Mr. Goodrich wrote to one of his former teachers, Professor Benjamin Silliman at Yale, describing what he had seen. But what may, perhaps, seem more dramatic about his sight of Kilauea are the circumstances of one of his later visits to the volcano.

In 1824 Samuel Ruggles and Joseph Goodrich were stationed in Hilo. The work of the mission was proving to be difficult and the natives unwilling to accept the Christian teaching. Financial hardship had resulted in both men being without shoes for six months. Joseph Goodrich had managed to become accustomed to going barefoot, even on the sun-heated, sharp lava rock of the area, but Samuel Ruggles still found it too difficult and uncomfortable for him to go far. Word reached them that the high "chiefess" Kapiolani planned to walk the one hundred and fifty miles from her home to Kilauea and there to defy Pele, the goddess of the volcano, so that her people might believe in the power of the Christian God. Joseph Goodrich walked to meet her and joined her in this thirty-mile pilgrimage.

Standing beside the boiling fire pit of Halemaumau, Kapiolani ate the ohelo berries sacred to Pele and then threw stones into the lava. Laura Judd described the result of throwing stones into the lava on another occasion: a fountain of lava sprang up through the broken lava crust, higher and higher until the heat drove back the onlookers.

Kapiolani stood on the ledge inside the crater and called out, "Jehovah is my God. He kindled these fires. I fear not Pele. If I perish by her anger, then you may fear Pele, but if I trust in Jehovah and he preserves me then you must serve him alone." Then she sang a hymn, and she and Mr. Goodrich left, unharmed. Her bravery led many Hawaiians to lose their fear of the old gods.

In the summer of 1974 this scene was reenacted, and once again the defier of Pele left unharmed, but two days later there was a great eruption, and lava poured down the side of Kilauea.

In all, twelve companies of missionaries were sent to the Sandwich Islands—including such familiar names as Dwight, Lyman, and Judd.

A notice in the *Missionary Herald* of January, 1844, tells us: "Among articles carried out by the 'Globe' [the ship which took the eleventh company] are the former pulpit and communion table of the Centre Church, New Haven, Connecticut. The congregation to which they have hitherto belonged has presented them to the First Church of Honolulu, and they are to be placed, if they reach the Islands, in the substantial and costly edifice which has recently been erected in that place, and the expense of which has principally been defrayed by the King." The pulpit and communion table did reach the islands, but their whereabouts at present are not known. (There is some investigation

going on.) According to the records of Kawaiahao Church, "the substantial and costly edifice were [*sic*] destroyed some years ago by fire so that certain identification may be difficult."

Nevertheless, the New England influence in Hawaii is plainly visible in many ways. New Haven played a lively role in making that influence part of what is Hawaii today.

The Voyage of the *Zephyr*

by Nancy Martin

The ship *Zephyr*, master Caleb Brintnall (1774-1850), sailed from New Haven on the twenty-fifth of October, 1815.

The War of 1812 had made shipping difficult for Yankee captains and owners, so some American-owned ships had sailed under foreign flags. John Jacob Astor used the brig *Forrester*, sailing under the British flag, to bring supplies to his fort at Astoria. This deception was uncovered, and British ships were ordered to pursue the *Forrester*. The brig outsailed its pursuers and escaped but was of very limited use once its real identity was known. To make the best of his unfortunate position, Captain Pigott sold the cargo of the *Forrester* to Alexander Baranov, Governor of the Russian American Company at Sitka and the *Forrester* itself to King Kamehameha I of Hawaii.

James Bennett avoided trouble with the British by selling his ship *Atahualpa* to Baranov and taking employment as its captain. Baranov changed the name of the ship to *Bering* in recognition of its new Russian ownership.

Bennett, unfortunately, wrecked the *Bering* on the coast of Kauai early in 1815 and left its cargo under the care of the king of that island, King Kaumualii. Bennett himself returned to Sitka to tell Baranov what had happened.

When Caleb Brintnall sailed from New Haven in 1815, the war was over and he did not need to resort to subterfuge or disguise. The *Zephyr* was armed, but this armament was considered necessary because of the danger of piracy in the Caribbean and the China Seas.

Here is Trowbridge's account of the voyage of the *Zephyr*:*

Thoroughly equipped and out-fitted, the *Zephyr* sailed from our port early in the morning of the 25th of October, 1815. A large concourse of citizens had assembled at the pierhead to witness her departure.

From Montauk Point the ship held her course for the coast of Patagonia, and at one of the Falkland Islands she was placed in condition to encounter the severe Cape weather.

*Trowbridge, Thomas R., Jr., "History of the Ancient Maritime Interests of New Haven," New Haven Colony Historical Papers, 111.

So rapidly did the *Zephyr* sail, that when off Cape Saint Roque, being chased by a swift French man-of-war, she made fourteen knots an hour by the log, with wind abeam, and ran the Frenchman out of sight.

Having entered the Pacific, the commander felt great disappointment in finding no seals at any of the usual seal islands, although he visited all of the localities where, in early years, so many seals had been found. He resolved, however, to find them, and sailed his ship to the North Pacific, carefully searching through the Gallapagoes [*sic*], the Boneto Islands, Guadeloupe, and the Gulf of California. His search was in vain. He met with no success.

On consulting with his officers, Captain Brintnall determined, as he said, to find seals if he had to search the Pacific from Cape Horn to the North Pole, and he placed his ship upon a course for Nootka Sound, then almost a *terra incognita*, to *New Haven* navigators at least.

A few days only had the *Zephyr* been sailing toward the north when she encountered a tempest whose severity exceeded anything ever experienced by those on board. After a vain effort to make headway against the gale, the ship was placed before it; and for nearly twenty-four hours the fury of the storm increased. Throughout the night and the following day the sea ran so high and the wind blew so violently, that it was perilous for the sailors to attempt to reach the yards. Sails were blown to ribbons. The sea poured into the cabin through the doors and broken deadlights, drenching the crew and making it impossible to keep a fire in the galleys. During the second night the gale continued to increase, and many of the crew gave themselves up for lost. To lighten the ship several of her guns, spars, and casks were thrown overboard. The vessel was under bare poles, and no one could live on deck unless lashed there. In that almost unknown sea, this New Haven ship lay reeling, plunging, and half submerged in the volumes of water that filled the decks. Morning came at last, but with it no abatement of the tempest. The wind now veered to the north, caught the ship at an unfortunate moment, and practically dismasted her. In that dismal plight she remained until the following day. The storm then abated; the sea went down; the sun came forth; the wreck was partially cleared up; the fires in the galleys were relighted; jury masts were rigged; old sails were bent upon them, and in this forlorn, crippled condition (the voyage to the north having been abandoned), the *Zephyr* was headed for the Sandwich Islands; and in seventy-two days after the disaster, and thirteen and a half months after leaving New Haven, the *Zephyr*, with her discouraged and exhausted company, dropped her anchor in Kealakealkua Bay, where Captain Cook had been murdered not many years before.

The ship was there refitted, and became once again the showy craft that had attracted so much attention when lying in our harbor. But she had now been absent nearly eighteen months and had earned not a dollar. The captain was desirous of retrieving the disastrous voyage, and made therefore what he

considered a very advantageous arrangement with the King of the Sandwich Islands. The latter, a partially clothed savage, hired the *Zephyr* to cruise around his islands for one year, her master to rank as admiral; and for this service he agreed to give a very handsome consideration. The contract was signed; and for twelve months the *Zephyr* was constantly cruising around the Islands. There were bright expectations on board; for my venerable friend, to whom I am indebted for these details, and who was a lad on board of the *Zephyr*, informs me, that the commander anticipated the receipt of a sum sufficiently large to mend a broken voyage, "but which," my friend adds, "never was mended."*

The savage violated his contract and paid the captain little or nothing for his arduous services throughout a whole year. This treatment of Captain Brintnall was a losing policy for the king, because many of the American shipmasters, who touched at the islands, refrained for several years from making the customary presents to him, being offended at his bad faith in his dealings with the captain of the *Zephyr*.

When it became evident that no recompense was to be obtained from the king, the *Zephyr* was headed for Canton, where she had no funds wherewith to purchase a cargo for New Haven, and consequently a freight was taken for a European port; and thence the ship sailed for Providence. She reached this latter place after a perilous passage and an absence of three years from America.

The voyage was a signal failure, a very large amount of money having been lost in the adventure. The seamen for their long and dangerous cruise received little or nothing. My respected informant tells me, that when presented with his account he found *himself* indebted to the ship five dollars; but he was so desirous to reach home, that he "argued not;" the debt was forgiven him; and with his bag on his back, he started for New Haven on foot, reaching it in good time, and in a few weeks was again afloat. He has since, as owner and master of his ship, carried the American ensign at his mast-head into most of the principal ports of the world, and has done honor to his country, his State, and his native city of New Haven. With the voyage of the *Zephyr* ended all commercial intercourse between our city and China.

Two things in this account cannot be accepted in the light of present knowledge. First: it is difficult to believe that Kamehameha I would make the foolish contract described in the account and that he would violate a contract which he had made. Second: the description of Kamehameha as a "half-clothed savage" is misleading, inaccurate, and offensive.

Archibald Campbell, who lived on Oahu for thirteen months, in 1809-10

*The chief of the islands, at the time of Captain Brintnall's arrival, was fearing an attack from the warriors of a neighboring island. The reward promised to the captain of the *Zephyr* was sufficient sandal wood to load the ship. The quantity received was six and a half tons! [This footnote is Trowbridge's.—Ed.]

described Kamehameha as "distinguished for upright and honorable conduct in all his transactions." (In "A Voyage Around the World 1806-1812" p. 153.)

Captain Vancouver had earlier described Kamehameha as being "of a princely nature." (Ralph Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. I, p. 39), and Golovnin, who visited Hawaii in 1818, the year before Kamehameha's death, described him as a man of "ripe judgement and an enlightener and reformer of his people." (*Ibid*, p. 60.)

One presumes that at the time he wrote his rather derogatory description, Trowbridge did not have access to these and many similarly laudatory opinions of Kamehameha written by reputable contemporary observers.

Trowbridge was probably unaware also of a series of events which took place in the Sandwich Islands during the years 1815-1817 and had a marked influence on the financial outcome of the voyage of the *Zephyr*.

When James Bennett arrived in Sitka after wrecking the *Bering* on the Kauai coast he wanted to go back himself to claim the cargo. Baranov considered it essential that the settlement of the *Bering* cargo be accomplished as amiably as possible, and he did not believe that Bennett was capable of diplomatic negotiation. Instead of Bennett, Baranov sent Dr. George Anton Schaffer, a Bavarian medical doctor who was employed by the Russian American Company and was in Sitka at the time.

Baranov's caution over the situation is easily understood. In 1806 Kamehameha had sent a message to Baranov through a foreign shipmaster: "that he understood from persons trading to that coast how much the Russian establishment had sometimes suffered in winter from scarcity of provisions; that he would therefore gladly send a ship every year with swine, salt, batatas (sweet potatoes), and other articles of food if they would in exchange let him have sea otter skins at a fair price." (Richard Pierce, *Russia's Hawaiian Adventure, 1815-17-*, p. 2.)

For the Russian American Company base at Sitka, the greatest problem was indeed the maintenance of food supplies through the winter months. The idea of using Hawaiian trade to relieve this shortage had been considered on several occasions.

In 1809 Archibald Campbell said, "It would appear that the Russians had determined to form a settlement on these islands; at least preparations were made for this purpose; and I was informed by the commandant [of the Russian ship *Neva*, which brought Campbell to Hawaii] that if I chose, I might get a situation as an interpreter" (p. 81).

No attempt was made at that time to establish a Russian settlement in Hawaii, but in 1812 Baranov did establish one at Fort Ross, north of San Francisco. The Fort Ross experiment did not prove successful, and supplying food continued to be a problem. By 1815 Baranov was again looking to Hawaii for a possible solution.

Dr. Schaffer arrived on the island of Hawaii in October of 1815 with the following instructions from Baranov. First, he was to report to Kamehameha and explain his position as a medical doctor, a scholar of natural sciences, and an investigator of various forms of natural life. When the king's favor and confidence were gained, he was to explain his mission either to recover the cargo of the *Bering* or to receive compensation for it. Second, he was to try to get a monopoly of the sandalwood trade and, meanwhile, to gain the friendship of Kalanimoku (the prime minister) and the queens. And last, he was to pursue scholarly discovery on behalf of the Russian American Company. Baranov was proceeding carefully; he made no suggestion that Schaffer should establish a settlement or even a trading post.

In accordance with his instructions, Dr. Schaffer represented himself to Kamehameha as a physician and a naturalist. This immediately aroused the suspicion of John Young, an Englishman who was one of the king's advisors. But in spite of this opposition, Schaffer did gain favor with the king by giving successful medical treatment to Queen Kaahumanu, the king's favorite, for yellow fever, and by treating the king himself for what Schaffer reported was a heart condition.

Kamehameha granted him the use of land on Oahu, so Schaffer moved there to establish a trading post and then sailed to Kauai on a Russian ship sent by Baranov to aid in the recovery of the *Bering* cargo.

Schaffer found King Kaumualii more than willing to cooperate with him. On June 16, 1816, Kaumualii agreed not only to restore what remained of the *Bering* cargo but, in addition, he pledged allegiance to Alexander I of Russia; promised to trade exclusively with the Russian American Company and to supply cargoes of sandalwood to it alone; gave permission for the Russian American Company to establish factories anywhere in his domain and promised to supply men for the construction of buildings and for the development of plantations; and he agreed to furnish provisions for Russian ships. Furthermore, he promised to give to Schaffer one-half of the island of Oahu, which belonged to Kamehameha, but Schaffer was to provide 500 men to aid in the conquest of Oahu so that this gift would be possible. The allegiance to Russia was treason, for although he was king of Kauai, he had made a treaty in 1810 acknowledging the sovereignty of Kamehameha over him. The planned invasion of Oahu was not only treasonous; it was dangerous. In return for these promises, Schaffer made arrangements for Kaumualii to buy the American schooner *Lydia*.

In spite of his treaty with Kamehameha, Kaumualii was eager to reclaim his power if the opportunity arose. Schaffer, backed by the strength of Russia, seemed to offer that opportunity. At the same time, Schaffer realized the tremendous commercial and strategic possibilities of the islands if Russia would take possession of them. He strongly advised the directors of the Russian American Company in St. Petersburg to place this matter before the Czar.

Schaffer's mood may be appreciated from his journal entry of January 1, 1817. "Has Russia the right to occupy the Sandwich Islands? There is no question of this. King Kaumualii is a subject of Russia, and King Kamehameha has proclaimed himself his enemy, and no nation of the world has up to this time more right to these islands than Russia." In this comment, he seems to discount the treaty made between Captain Vancouver and Kamehameha. This was either a treaty of cession to Great Britain or a treaty of protection of Hawaii by Great Britain. Its exact significance was never clear, perhaps because it did not hold the same meaning for both of the parties concerned.

Schaffer built armed forts on Kauai, there were ceremonies and salutes, the Russian flag was raised, and Schaffer became the virtual ruler of Kauai. In his journal entry of July 7, 1817, he wrote: "When Kamehameha heard that the Russian flag was flying on Kauai he wanted to set out with all his army to conquer it, hiring several American ships for transport." In this passage, we have the nearest thing to a reference to the contract made between Kamehameha and Brintnall.

Kaumualii and Kauai had been a source of frustration and irritation to Kamehameha for over twenty years. In 1796, after his conquest of Oahu, Kamehameha had under his rule all the Hawaiian Islands save Kauai. He immediately made preparations to invade Kauai and assembled canoes to transport an army. But a storm in the Kauai channel swamped many canoes and drove the army back to Oahu. Before Kamehameha could renew his attack, word reached him that there had been a rebellion against him on the island of Hawaii, so he was forced to return in order to reestablish his supremacy there. The conquest of Kauai was not forgotten, however, and special canoes were designed and built to weather the rough waters of the Kauai channel. In 1804 Kamehameha was ready to attack again. Warriors and canoes were on Oahu ready to launch the attack when an epidemic swept through, decimating the army and making it necessary once more to postpone the invasion.

In 1810 Kamehameha had built up a considerable navy in preparation for an attack on Kauai, but this time the traders, who did not want their prosperity disturbed by war, encouraged a negotiated peace, and the treaty by which Kaumualii acknowledged the sovereignty of Kamehameha was made. In 1813 word reached Oahu that Kaumualii had declared war. Nothing further is recorded of this disturbance, but it is possible that an uneasy peace was made in that treaty. Although we have only Schaffer's word that Kamehameha wanted to make war on Kauai, it is fairly easy to believe that by this time he would be ready to do anything to subdue his rebellious subjects once and for all.

The traders, however, were still anxious to preserve peace and saw Schaffer's presence as a threat to their interests. They spread rumors of a disagreement between Russia and the United States in the hope that this would frighten Schaffer into leaving.

Meanwhile, in Russia support for Schaffer's project was evaporating. The Czar refused to take any part in a plan to take over the islands. Baranov in Sitka refused to pay for a ship which Schaffer had arranged to buy and disclaimed responsibility for Schaffer's actions. Finally, the ship *Rurick* of the Russian Imperial Navy arrived on the coast of Hawaii, and the Captain, Otto Von Kotzebue, assured Kamehameha that Schaffer's conduct was altogether contrary to the policy of the Czar.

By this time, Kaumualii was tired of Schaffer's high-handedness, and he realized that since both his company and his country had repudiated him, Schaffer had no real power. Kamehameha ordered Kaumualii to get rid of Schaffer, and in May, 1817, Schaffer was unceremoniously seized and expelled.

Brintnall had been in a rather ambiguous position. As a trader, and therefore in his own interests, he was probably involved in the plan of the traders to discourage Schaffer and prevent war, but at the same time, he was employed by Kamehameha to help wage that war by transporting warriors to Kauai. When the war did not materialize, Kamehameha may well have presumed that the bargain had not been fulfilled by Brintnall, even though it was not Brintnall's fault. This interpretation is supposition; we know only that both signers of the contract had reputations for honesty and fair dealing. Perhaps the contract itself would have explained its failure. Whatever the reason for that failure, it seems strange that the demise of New Haven's China trade began when a Yankee captain wrecked a Russian ship in the Sandwich Islands.

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